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535 ment of which consists of rolling the pelvis. When performed by a professional dancer, it has indubitable sexual significance for the audience, although it is important to emphasize that the dancer's skill, grace, and general beauty are appraised and valued per se and that her performance never descends to the vulgar level of the contemporary American "exotic" dancer's "bumps" and "grinds."

535 585 The women's solo dances at this wedding were not professional performances, and they cannot be described as being pelvic dances at all. The important point, however, is that these dances are performed in the village *only at weddings*. Granqvist (1935, p. 35) reports the same practice in a Palestinian Muslim village, although she does not describe the dances themselves. It is altogether possible that this culture element is standard in the general area. If these dances are merely decorative, why are they not performed at other festive occasions besides weddings? There is no immediate answer to this question, and so the way is left open for the assumption that they have some special significance for weddings. Taking all the facts into consideration, it appears possible that dances of the type observed were originally pelvic dances which have been conventionalized almost entirely out of recognition by the demands of Christian propriety. Indeed, according to Mr. Alan Horton (who received an eye-witness report), unmistakable pelvic dances are still performed nonprofessionally at weddings in at least one Palestinian Muslim village.

535 842 585 Curt Sachs (1937, p. 36) writes that although pelvic dances on some occasions may have merely the purpose of sexual stimulation, they can also have a symbolic meaning connected with the interest in fertility. It is well known that fertility symbolism is regularly found in the wedding ceremonies of many cultures, and there could hardly be a more appropriate occasion than a wedding for fertility symbolization (however much sublimated), especially in a culture where large numbers of children are explicitly valued. Furthermore it is known (see, for example, Frazer, 1906) that in Semitic paganism fertility themes and sexual symbolism were very important. These were, in fact, among the "Canaanite abominations" so abhorred by the leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

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We are, therefore, tempted to reach the admittedly tentative conclusion that the women's solo wedding dances are vestiges of very ancient fertility themes, reinforced by an on-going concern with the matter of fertility itself. Probably none of the dancers is conscious of the symbolization, but neither are the throwers of rice at Western weddings. Readers may certainly be excused if they are skeptical of the validity of this reasoning, and any better explanation of the various observed phenomena is very welcome.

585 842 5. The bride's pasting of a lump of raw dough (*mahlly*) on the lintel of her husband's house is evidently a widespread practice. Granqvist reports on it from her Palestinian village, saying that it is supposed to be handed to the bride by her mother-in-law. She adds, "Although the women did not say so, it seemed as if they had a vague idea of some similarity between the sour dough which rises and swells as it ferments and woman who becomes pregnant and increases the

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family by giving birth to children" (1935, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Munṣif who, although she put the *maḥiīy* over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munṣif the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munṣif as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage; and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this second function of the funeral appears to persist unabated among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *maq'ad*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Qumi villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *aqal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munqidin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munqif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

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Fa'ad
Fahim
Fawzi
Fuad

or,

Na'ilah
Na'im
Nabih
Nadal
Nabiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiq
Rashid
Rashid
Munir
Yusuf
Ziyad
Mounah

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a pretty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solidary unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents.

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Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two).

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KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munşif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munşif.

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421 577 considered that genealogically and conceptually (the 'villagers' concept), Mtoqil is a single kinship unit.[9]

[718] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

4[3.6 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[715] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Mtoqil from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [705 of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that 705] the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 33).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a [18] thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

[9] 871 555 "In Mtoqil you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[9] For additional perspective on the structure of the village see Gulick (1954, pp. 370-71).

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its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Mosqūbis in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1956, p. 64), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Mosqūbis are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yaziji and Boutros Boutani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1956, p. 89).

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[77] [86] is as naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate prevention of all further acculturation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Maronites appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described as follows:

> They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and tends to be affected by them sooner and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in externals, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathies and feelings. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own souls; as such it raises problems which pose themselves with peculiar urgency. (Hourani, 1946, p. 79.)

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each — which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 330 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 337 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mayrig, are Moslem.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 338.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

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THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1919, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 55.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munsif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munsif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 342), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munsifin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve extensive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

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The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munşif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munşifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munşifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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177 178 621 181 sistence. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is *not* the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munṣif the principle of 177 devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

178 *Religion.* It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives 181 rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group 771 loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munṣif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion *retains* its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munṣif. We have seen that the Munṣifiin clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

[798] The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Munṣif, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

17:Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id,* is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

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SYRIA MDI

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

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15,759 students. Armenian schools, both Orthodox and Protestant, come next with 50 schools and 8,213 pupils. They are followed by the Druzes, with 26 schools and 1,545 pupils.

A careful study of Table 90 shows that each denomination is catering almost exclusively to children of its own religion, though not necessarily of its own sect. Only 715 pupils out of the more than 21,000 in Maronite schools are non-Christian. Similarly, 385 pupils out of 10,479 in Greek Orthodox schools are non-Christian. Only 92 Christians, 162 Druzes, and 97 pupils from various sects attend Muslim schools out of a total of 15,759. Thus, the sectarian differences already existing among the people of Lebanon are paralleled in the composition of the student bodies of the various private schools. It can perhaps be safely said that the schools help to perpetuate these cleavages, if not to make them more pronounced.

As a group the private schools represent no special philosophy of education or any attempt to experiment with new curriculums or methods. It is the rare school indeed which is trying to strike out in a new direction. Rather, the private schools follow the lead either of the French, American, or British types of education. Naturally, since the government conducts primary and secondary examinations, some schools also follow the program of studies set down by the government.

These statements must be qualified by two considerations. The first is the attempt of each sect to draw to its own schools the children of its own community, and annoyance lest these children may go to schools of a different sect. This is particularly true of the Greek Orthodox and Catholic sects. The same is true of some of the private Muslim schools which were established to prevent Muslim children entering Christian missionary schools where another religion might be taught to them, sometimes compulsorily, and where they would have no chance of studying their own religion. Some of the sectarian schools provide children for religious services in their churches, and the children are, therefore, taught the liturgy and hymns of their own church. In a large portion of the Catholic schools, the clergy is in full control, with nuns or priests as principals, directors of discipline and studies, and as teachers. The same is not true of the Greek Orthodox schools, though there is a close affiliation with the church.

The second consideration is the new outlook advocated by some of the Lebanese that their culture should follow the lines of the so-called "Mediterranean culture." The protagonists of this theory maintain that Lebanon has always been a bridge between the East and the West and has always been influenced by Eastern and Western cultures alike. Whether in Phoenician, Greco-Roman, or Crusading times, Lebanon was always in direct

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relationship with other parts of the Mediterranean world and was influenced by the cultures emanating from that world. At the same time since it was attached to the Eastern soil and populated by races of Semitic origin, it could not help being influenced by Eastern cultures as well. In this way "Mediterranean culture" seems to mean the present Arab culture of the East and its background of other Semitic cultures, as well as the present modern Western, particularly French-Catholic, culture and its background of Greco-Roman culture. It is further maintained by this group, made up largely of French Catholic sympathizers who have not taken easily to the participation of Lebanon in the Arab League, that Lebanon should not be swayed too far to the East, to the point of losing its identity in the Arab-Muslim majority and in the Arab-Muslim ideology. Rather, due care must be taken to keep in close touch with the West, the Christian Catholic West in particular, in order to have a balanced culture inside Lebanon.

Their antagonists, on the other hand, made up largely of sympathizers with the Arab cause who like to see the Arabic culture of Lebanon maintained, accuse them of not paying enough attention to Arabic and Eastern cultures, and assert that what is called "Mediterranean culture" is nothing more than a thin veil for the attempt to preserve French Catholic influence and education in Lebanon.

This controversy has come to the fore more specifically in the last several years with the end of the French mandate, the rise of the Arab League, and the declaration of Lebanon's independence. From the standpoint of the schools themselves, however, it has as yet made little difference either in the types of curriculum or methods followed. It is not necessary, therefore, to describe them further as a group. The descriptions which follow are of individual schools visited by the Commission.

Denominational Schools

MARONITE SCHOOLS

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The outstanding Maronite school in Lebanon is the al-Hikmah College, a boys school founded in Beirut in 1876, by the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Monseigneur Yusuf al-Dibs, a learned man of his times. It is situated in the eastern part of the city in its own old building to which has been added a large new building constructed in 1938. It has a primary school, a secondary school, and a commercial course. It had an enrollment in 1945–46 of 1,565 students, of whom 350 were boarders. About 900 were in the secondary section. Students are drawn mainly from Lebanon, but about 100 boys came from Syria, a few from Palestine, while others

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Christians as well. Forty-five Christians were in the secondary section, which enrolled a total of 154 students. It is staffed by a principal, an assistant, and twenty-six teachers, not including nine women kindergarten teachers. Fees range from £L40 to £L325 ($18 to $148) with an addition of another £L500 ($228) for boarding students. The College is almost self-supporting and is said to charge the highest fees in Sidon. Children of teachers are accepted gratis in the primary school and on half-fees in the secondary school. Income from property is spent mostly on the other free schools.

The College has a library of about 2,000 books in Arabic and in French, a small chemical laboratory, and some maps in French and Arabic. It fosters a number of student activities including a literary and dramatic society, a lecture program, two library committees (one each for Arabic and for French books), a Boy Scout troop, and various athletic teams. A school magazine, edited largely by students, is published in Arabic.

The College is now preparing for first and second *baccalauréats*, as well as for the primary-school certificate and the *brevet*. Its diploma has been recognized by the universities in Egypt, and 4 students are already studying at Egyptian universities. At the time of the Commission's visit, English was started in the seventh grade, but it was planned to form a special English section by agreement with the American University of Beirut. In this section English would begin in the kindergarten and continue through the secondary school.

The leaders of the Muslim Charitable Purposes movement may be said to represent in their outlook the opposite pole of the ideology represented by the al-Hikmah College and the Cultural League of Free Education. To them there is nothing that can be called Lebanese culture, but there is an Arab culture, or rather a world culture. They believe that Arabic should be the language of instruction and of expression. They attack the idea of French as a language of expression for Lebanese and Arabs: foreign languages should be taught for purposes of opening the gateways for acquisition of Western thought, but the expression of thought, whether Western or Eastern, should be in Arabic.

They concede that the foreign-language situation in Lebanon is different from the rest of the Arab countries in that the Lebanese population is more urban, and a large part of the Lebanese villages are summer resorts frequented by people from abroad. The Lebanese, therefore, take more easily to the teaching of foreign languages because their environment fosters acquisition of languages. This, however, should not mean in any way the neglect of the Arabic language, and the use of a foreign language